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# Radical Think-Tank

## Institute for Policy Studies Aims to Disarm the U.S.

By SHIRLEY SCHEIBLA

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The vicious attack, in and outside of Congress, on the so-called "military-industrial complex" has enlisted the support of an ally as powerful in and around the Nation's Capital as it is unknown to the U.S. at large, an organization called the Institute for Policy Studies (IPS).

For example, IPS is represented on the staff of the Joint Economic Committee, which, under the leadership of

by Sen. Proxmire's recent failure to win major Senate cutbacks on military spending, including a halt to purchases of the C5A aircraft, says he is planning a five-year campaign against military spending.

Mr. Kaufman wears his two hats with careless ease. Earlier this year, in his official capacity, he invited 27 congressional assistants to off-the-record briefings on military spending under the auspices—and at the expense—of the Institute. They lasted several hours each, included dinner, and were held once a week for several months at the Congressional Hotel.

The Institute has arranged similar conferences for other interested groups, including the National Conference on Military Priorities; IPS officials also have worked with the Council for a Livable World (which now ranks as the third-biggest spender among U.S. lobbyists), the members of Congress for Peace Through Law, and the New National Mobilization Committee to End the War in Viet Nam.

What is the Institute, and why is it so concerned with the military-industrial complex? It characterizes itself as a "think tank"; calls most of its officials "fellows," and enjoys tax exemption as an educational institution. It is supported by tax-exempt contributions from foundations, universities, colleges and individuals. And, as will be seen, it is directed by leaders of the New Left, a movement which J. Edgar Hoover, in testimony before the House Subcommittee on Appropriations, recently called "clearly subversive . . . an ever-increasing danger to our national welfare and security."

Organized six years ago, the Institute has an annual budget which currently runs to \$400,000 a year. Financing has come from the Ford Foundation, Edgar Stern Family Fund, Samuel Rubin Foundation, Irving Lauck, the Institute for International Order, Milbank Foundation, "the Fontaney Corp., through the generosity of James P. Warburg," Society for the Psychological Study of Social Issues, National Board of Missions of the Presbyterian Church, Field Foundation, Cuddy Foundation, Edwin Janss Foundation, Jennifer Carritz, Walter E. Meyer and Michael Gellert.

Support for the Institute also comes from the publishers, who, according to IPS Co-Director Marcus Raskin, have printed about two dozen books and several thousand articles by its personnel. Mr. Raskin explained to *Barron's* that IPS furnishes an office and a salary for the fellows who perform such work, and fees and royalties go directly to them. Moreover, IPS principals serve on a number of university faculties, including those at Harvard, Duke, the University of Maryland and the University of Chicago.

IPS had its genesis in the Peace Research Institute, which began operations in Washington on April 5, 1961, with an announcement that it would serve as a private agency to undertake and stimulate research in all fields relevant to peace, security, disarmament and international order. Shortly afterward it obtained a \$20,000 contract for a study for the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency.

Signed by Arthur I. Waskow, now the senior fellow of IPS, the document called for an international police force to keep world peace and see that nations disarmed. The author also suggested that disputes in a disarmed world could "be settled by reference to the International Court of Justice, to various mediation services, to various organs of the United Nations, etc."

A relative unknown at the time, Mr. Waskow had come to IPS from his job as legislative assistant to Rep. Robert Kastenmeier (D.-Wis.); Mr. Waskow now has become a public figure because of his active role in demonstrations, including those at the Pentagon and the Democratic National Convention in Chicago.

Late in 1963, the Peace Research Institute merged with the Institute for Policy Studies, which had just been founded by Marcus Raskin and Richard Barnett, who once served as deputy director of political research for the U.S. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency (*Barron's*, April 29, 1968). Mr. Waskow then went to work for IPS as its senior fellow.

In August 1965, Mr. Waskow represented IPS at a meeting in Santa Barbara, Calif., at the Center for the Study



Senior IPS Fellow Arthur Waskow appeared at one of the numerous "peace demonstrations" so common to the Nation's Capital.

Sen. William Proxmire (D.-Wis.), has spearheaded the assault on the Pentagon's proposed budget. An economist with the committee, Richard Kaufman, is in charge of his staff work; Mr. Kaufman also happens to be an associate fellow of IPS.

IPS defines associate fellows as "part-time faculty who have led seminars, participated in social inventions, or have engaged in individual research projects supported by the Institute." It says associate fellows sometimes, but not always, receive honorariums for their work. Mr. Kaufman told *Barron's* he did not care to comment on whether he has received pay for his work for IPS.

Until 1967, when Mr. Kaufman went to work for the committee, it had left the military budget to the Armed Services and Appropriations Committees. Now the staff economist, undismayed

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of Democratic Institutions, which produced a "Call for a New Politics," a hope for a united Left in the U.S. A year later, a National Conference for a New Politics (NCNP) was held in Chicago.

Over the Labor Day weekend in 1967, Mr. Waskow attended the first NCNP convention in Chicago; subsequently he was identified on the floor of the U.S. House of Representatives as "one of the founders and leaders of the NCNP."

Mr. Raskin's Washington career began in 1960, when he served as clerk and free lance writer to several congressmen, including Representatives Kastenmeier, Herman Toll (D.-Pa.), James Roosevelt (D.-Calif.) and William S. Moorhead (D.-Pa.). Mr. Raskin soon co-authored a report with Mr. Waskow for Rep. Kastenmeier. Copyrighted in 1961, it was titled "Deterrence and Reality," and, so far as can be determined, constituted the first advocacy of U.S. unilateral disarmament on Capitol Hill. Mr. Waskow subsequently expanded the report into a book, *The Limits of Defense*.

According to a press release by Rep. Kastenmeier, Mr. Raskin also served as group secretary for the *Liberal Papers*, a collection of essays written by more than a dozen professors for a number of Democratic congressmen, made public early in 1962.

Among other things, the essays urged the U.S. to allow Russia to plug into this country's warning defense system (DEW); recognize and admit to the United Nations Communist East Germany, Red China, North Korea and North Viet Nam; unilaterally abandon nuclear tests; break up NATO; abandon Berlin and neutralize central Europe under terms proposed by Communist Poland.

With the advent of the New Frontier, Mr. Raskin was called to the White House to join the special staff of the National Security Council as an aide to McGeorge Bundy, who now heads the Ford Foundation. Mr. Raskin also served as a member of the American delegation to the 18-nation disarmament conference at Geneva.

Mr. Raskin subsequently became chairman of the Committee for the Formation of a New Party. On Aug. 1, 1968, the committee issued a statement by the chairman in which he said the New party "will stand for the dismantling of an obsolete, dangerous military establishment that is over-extended and over-reaching. It will insist that there be an arms control and disarmament law in the U.S. applicable to citizen and police as well. . . . It will insist the revolution in other nations or insurgencies therein should not cause interventions and American military."

Last January, the New party an-

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By giving a tax exemption to an organization like the Institute for Policy Studies, our government is allowing tax exemption to support revolution.

—Sen. Strom Thurmond (R.-S.C.)

nounced it had elected Dick Gregory and James P. Dixon, president of Antioch College, as co-chairmen to succeed Mr. Raskin. Mr. Dixon is an IPS trustee, and Antioch is one of the colleges associated with the Institute. Nevertheless, Mr. Raskin remains in the headlines, primarily because of his indictment (and subsequent acquittal) on a charge of conspiring to advise draft evasion, along with Dr. Benjamin Spock and the Rev. William Sloan Coffin Jr.

Since its inception the Institute has fought military defense through "seminars," chiefly for members of Congress and their assistants. In 1967-68 (it operates on a school year), IPS held a series of conferences for congressional assistants on "the Impact of the War on American Society." Besides Co-Director Barnet, one of the speakers was Michael Tigar, whose subject was "The War and the Draft."

Mr. Tigar is well known as a student leader of the 1964 disturbances at the University of California at Berkeley. He is a former member of the executive board of the National Capital Area



Marcus Raskin, who has been acquitted of counselling draft evasion, remains active in the ultra-liberal movement.

Civil Liberties Union and served as attorney for members of the Students for a Democratic Society charged with seizing and occupying George Washington University's Sino-Soviet Institute in April. Last month he was jailed in Chicago on a charge of contempt of court in connection with his defense of "the Chicago 8," charged with conspiring to incite a riot during the 1968 Democratic National Convention. (dropped.)

IPS' 1968-69 schedule for "seminars" describes the aforementioned Mr. Kaufman's assignment as "a work study project to analyze the war machine as a public-private corporate structure. Topics covered will include cost, benefits, public relations and distribution of profits." The project assignment for Mr. Kaufman in the IPS 1969-70 budget is "Defense Procurement."

Sen. Proxmire told *Barron's* he had heard that Mr. Kaufman is associated with the Institute, but that he is not familiar with it. However, Proxmire's committee has published two essays by Milton Kotler, who the committee itself has identified as a "Resident Fellow, Institute for Policy Studies, Washington, D.C." Sen. Proxmire said further that he considers what Mr. Kaufman does with his time after working hours is his own business.

IPS principals seem to be very busy men. Co-Director Barnet and Trustee Hans Morgenthau, professor of history, government and international relations at the University of Chicago, are advisers to the Council for a Livable World. IPS Fellows Waskow and Leonard Rodberg, former bureau chief with the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, have done work for it.

A Senate report has described the Council's goals as unilateral disarmament and "turning this country into a fourth-rate power at the mercy of the international wolfpack."

The Council is the third highest spender of the lobbying organizations which filed reports for 1968. With outlays of \$154,022 (up from \$77,470 for 1967), it topped even such famous lobbying groups as the American Legion and the American Medical Association, and was out-ranked only by the United Federation of Postal Clerks (AFL-CIO) and the AFL-CIO.

According to the same Senate document, the Council takes credit for assuring the original election victory of one of the Senate's leading peaceniks, George McGovern (D.-S.D.), by having its membership put \$22,000 into his campaign, enough to win a close contest in a sparsely populated state.

Sen. McGovern, in turn, is vice-chairman of a group called Members of Congress for Peace Through Law. Its chairman is Rep. Bradford Morse (R.-Mass.), and its members include Representatives Rosenthal and Kastenmeier (Mr. Waskow's former employer), all of whom have attended "seminars" at IPS headquarters.

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Last July that group issued a report, labeled "personal and confidential," which said that the recommendations of the Joint Economic Committee can serve as guidelines for positive reform in military procurement.

Among other things, the report called for moratoria on the construction of aircraft carriers, F-14A planes, advanced manned bombers and chemical and biological warfare centers. It also urged drastic curtailment in Sentinel-Safeguard deployment and the ABM research and development program.

Writing in *New University Thought* last year, Mr. Waskow declared that the Institute is committed to the view that to develop social theory, one must be involved in social action and experiment. Toward this end, he advocated "creative disorder," which, he said, means "to simply keep experimenting and to discover at what point one is neither smashed nor ignored, but creates enough change to move the society." Admitting a "gut preference for disorder," Mr. Waskow said IPS "stands on the bare edge of custom in the United States as to what an education research institution is."

In short, it not only develops and promulgates theories but also seeks to implement them. Aside from its failure so far in unilaterally disarming the U.S., IPS has enjoyed considerable success, even to the extent of Mr. Waskow being asked to give his expert advice on police problems in a project partially funded by the Justice Department.

The Institute actually has set up communes and neighborhood corporations with the ultimate aim of taking over important functions of municipal government, including the control of police, schools, housing for the poor and health services.

According to at least one IPS book, "Neighborhood Government," the message of the riots is that the poor want such community control, and civil war will result unless they get it. Nothing less will suffice, it maintains. The ultimate aim is to establish such control through a network of federally funded ghetto corporations.

At least two IPS associate fellows hold government posts in which they are able to apply such theories. Other fellows, once having held such posts, apparently continue to influence the executive and legislative branches of government.

Anyone studying IPS and the turmoil plaguing the nation might be tempted to conclude that the Institute had written the scenario.

According to the *Washington Post*, Mr. Waskow helped plan the demonstrations at the Democratic National Convention in Chicago. The subsequent need to call out the police to

enable an institution of government to operate, and the resulting cries of police brutality, ran true to IPS theory espoused by Mr. Waskow and other exponents of the New Left affiliated with the Institute. Back in 1965, Mr. Waskow wrote in the *Saturday Review* that as revolutionists force tyranny to stop them, they will gain increasing acceptance.

According to the *Daily World*, Mr. Waskow also masterminded the counter-inauguration of a pig for President at the time of President Nixon's inauguration.

The Institute goes far beyond demonstrations in exercising influence. Its theory of community control through the device of neighborhood corporations has been set forth repeatedly by fellow Milton Kotler. A couple of years ago, the Urban Affairs subcommittee of the Joint Economic Committee of Congress published two of his essays on the subject as part of a compendium by 22 urban specialists.

A footnote identified Mr. Kotler as an IPS resident fellow. His opening sentences read: "At the outset, let me say that this paper is not a study. It is an argument . . . intending to persuade you toward a course in urban legislation. . . ." (Nevertheless, IPS has not registered as a lobbyist, and enjoys tax exemption as an educational institution.)

"Riots," wrote Mr. Kotler, "reflect the formation of a new local community power in combat with the established power. . . . Unless existing established federal, state and municipal governments transfer a proper portion of their authority in Negro communities, today's domestic warfare will grow."

(At about the time the essays were published, black employees of the Library of Congress began receiving cards. One side was headed, "Committee for Emergency Support," and bore the address of the Institute. It read:

"We are in sympathy with the despair of the black people in America. We share their sense of powerlessness to relieve repressive conditions by conventional political means. We are frustrated in our attempts to control the decisions which affect our lives in the capital city.

"We are all victims. We are ready in an emergency to assist the black community of Washington with food, housing, medical care and legal aid. We are committed to act to remove repressive military and political intervention."

The other side of the card advised calling the IPS phone number "in a riot or rebellion to obtain information, for legal assistance and housing, to report police brutality." Shortly thereafter, Mr.

Waskow began calling for the collection of bail funds in advance of violence.)

In his essays for the committee, Mr. Kotler suggested a transfer of authority through "creative federalism." He explained, "The federal government must first assist the organization of legal neighborhood corporations with some initial funding. . . . Funding from the government is more important for legitimizing the development of neighborhood self-government as a unit of local rule in the society than for the money itself. . . . This proposal is already before the Senate in the form of Senate bill 1433. . . . It deserves your consideration and support."

S 1433 expired in 1967. But on July 11, 1968, Roy Innis, acting national director of the Congress of Racial Equality, and Representatives Charles E. Goodell (R.-N.Y., now a senator), William B. Widnall (R.-N.J.) and Robert Taft Jr. (R.-Ohio) jointly introduced legislation to create community development corporations "to finance, acquire, own and manage productive business enterprise located in the community, and to use the profit from such enterprise to finance its own education and social service programs in the community."

Financing for the corporations, they explained, would come from community development banks (CDBs) "analogous to Federal Land Bank Associations and Production Credit Associations, under the supervision of the comptroller of the currency." They estimated that federal capitalization of the CDBs initially would involve annual federal spending of \$1 billion.

Last December the measure was discussed at a "self-determination symposium" at the Washington Hilton Hotel. According to the *New York Times*, Sen. Charles H. Percy (R.-Ill.) told the gathering, which included black militants, that "Mr. Nixon had expressed approval of the concepts in the bill and that Nixon aides had informed him that the President-elect 'strongly supports the bi-partisan concept.'"

The bill, of course, expired with the 90th Congress. Sen. Goodell, however, now is revising a similar one he introduced this year which is pending before the Senate Finance Committee.

The impetus for all this began four years ago, according to an IPS booklet called "The First Three Years," when "after long discussions with Kotler, a number of residents and organizational leaders in a poor neighborhood decided to organize the East Columbus Citizens Organization (ECCO)." To date, the Office of Economic Opportunity has approved grants of \$432,219 for ECCO and expects funding eventually to total

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\$757,113. The agency also has announced what it calls its "Community Capitalism Program"; under it, the agency plans to make grants of \$10 million this year to community corporations. (Mr. Kotler says there now are 70 of them.) Grants already made public include \$1 million to the Inner-City Business Improvement Forum (Detroit), \$900,000 to the Human Development Corp. (St. Louis), \$1.1 million to the North Lawndale Economic Development Corp. (Chicago), \$600,000 to the Harlem Commonwealth Council (New York) and \$1.5 million to the Hough Area Development Corp. (Cleveland).

All this ties in too with the Model Cities program; by happenstance, Stanley L. Newman, an IPS associate fellow, is chief of the Planning and Relocation and Public Administration Branch of the Division of Program Development and Evaluation in the office of the assistant secretary of housing and urban development for Model Cities and Governmental Relations.

Now Mr. Kotler is elaborating on his theory. In a book titled *Neighborhood Government*, just published by Bobbs-Merrill Co., he demands regulatory power for the community corporations to assure that money earned in the community will stay there.

He also writes: "It is necessary for the corporation both to have the power to tax its residents and to be able to dispose of its territory. This means the governmental power of eminent domain." He says it also would be reasonable for the corporation "to control prices, rents, licensing and banking." Further, he would like communities to govern themselves based on custom rather than outside laws.

Calling the community "the action unit of this emerging revolutionary class," Mr. Kotler says, "The neighborhood organization . . . must be prepared to defend gains in jurisdiction by the threat of war to any who would endeavor to deny these gains."

Meanwhile, Mr. Waskow has pursued the IPS idea of community control of schools. Some years ago he became secretary of a community anti-poverty group here in Washington, the Adams-Morgan Community Council, just as federal policy-makers insisted that the D.C. Board of Education allow the Council to run the Morgan grammar school as an experiment in community control.

Shortly thereafter, John R. Immer, president of the Federation of Citizens Association of the District of Columbia, wrote President Johnson that the children at the school were being cheated out of a good education. He

declared: "The teachers maintain no discipline, are hippies, use vile language, have had little or no teaching experience and have and are using untried teaching methods."

Nevertheless, President Johnson's Cabinet officers and their wives worked with Mr. Waskow in the presentation of the movie, *Camelot*, at the Warner Theater in Washington, as a benefit for the Morgan school.

Among the patrons listed by Mr. Waskow were (then) Justice and Mrs. Abe Fortas (IPS lists his former law partner, Thurman Arnold, as one of its original trustees), Secretary of Defense Robert S. McNamara, Atty. Gen. Ramsey Clark, Secretary of the Interior Stewart L. Udall, Secretary of Commerce Alexander B. Trowbridge and Secretary of Agriculture Orville Freeman.

Federal support also has been forthcoming for a new venture in higher education in which Mr. Waskow will play a significant role. The Justice Department recently agreed to underwrite loans and grants to students pursuing programs at a new Center for the Administration of Justice at American University in Washington. According to AU President George H. Williams, "The initial award [from Justice] exceeds \$200,000, and anticipated funding for the academic year may exceed \$500,000."

William M. McDowell, AU information officer, told *Barron's* that Mr.



IPS listed well-known Washington lawyer Thurman Arnold as one of its trustees.

Waskow has been asked to serve as an expert consultant to the Center on how it can best serve the Washington com-

he may occasionally lecture on police problems.

Writing in a local underground newspaper, the *Quicksilver Times*, last July, Mr. Waskow advocated: "(1) Neighborhood control of police through citizen-elected commissions. (2) Creation of countervailing organizations such as unions of those policed. (3) Changing the role of the professional, tough cop to one of a more everyday civil servant doing his job, keeping the peace, rather than enforcing the law." A year ago, according to press reports, Mr. Waskow headed a rally here in front of the 13th police precinct station to demand immediate community control of the police.

To develop ways of establishing community control of health services, IPS held a seminar three years ago under the direction of Dr. William Kissick, associate fellow and then chief of the Division of Public Health Methods in the office of the surgeon general of the U.S. (Dr. Kissick now is teaching at the University of Pennsylvania.)

According to Pierce Rollins, acting director of information for the office of community health service of the Public Health Service (PHS), the material resulting from the conferences in that seminar has been compiled in two volumes by the Milbank Memorial Foundation. Mr. Rollins says the Department of Health, Education and Welfare, parent agency of PHS, uses the volumes as background material prepared by experts to help it set health policy.

The official explains that PHS now is funding the planning of health services at state, area, city and community levels, and that the various entities are free to sub-contract with IPS experts to help in the planning.

The general idea, Mr. Rollins adds, is to fund community health services only after area-wide planning. But because of the desperate need, PHS is making funds available without area planning. It has financed, he says, 22 community health centers and others for rat control and the treatment of venereal disease. So far PHS has made 2,500 health planning grants, Mr. Rollins reports.

Tangible results also have emanated from a 1968-69 IPS seminar conducted by Rick Margolies, an associate fellow. According to the Institute, it aimed "at developing a theory of social change based upon the possibility of a movement of small groups living communally and acting as agents of change in their larger environment. It is assumed that the small group will begin to live in the manner it wishes the society at large to adopt."

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"Some individual seminars will be theoretical and historical, while others will be more specifically programmatic.

"The first section, 'Toward a New Life Style,' will include discussions of human communion and human need, the extended family and child bearing. . . ; 'the History of Intentional Communities' will include American 'utopian' experiments, Communist collectives and communes, the Kibbutzim; 'Toward a Praxis of Community' will synthesize lessons learned in the above sections and work toward a plan for a communitarian movement."

Mr. Margolies told *Barron's* that he now has communes in operation in the Adams-Morgan area of Washington. After starting with money from the Stern Family Foundation, commune members now support themselves by working part-time at the *Quicksilver Times* and the *Washington Free Press*, another underground newspaper, Mr. Margolies explained. Among other things, the *Free Press* has printed detailed instructions on how to conduct "insurgent activities." Now Mr. Margolies is preparing a new magazine, to be called "the People in the Streets."

In view of the success of IPS in developing and implementing theories, its present studies and projects for the future take on added significance. One plan is to set up a network of institutes like IPS all over the country to serve as counter-institutions to established ones. Gar Alperovitz, IPS fellow and former legislative assistant to Sen. Gaylord A. Nelson (D.-Wis.), already has launched one at Cambridge, Mass., with the help of Christopher Jencks,



Mike Tigar, a long-time activist in peace and anti-war causes, was a speaker at a recent IPS seminar.

According to Tina Smith, IPS administrative assistant, Alan Haber and Barry Weisberh are setting up a Bay Area Institute in San Francisco. Gerry Hunnius, having just completed an IPS study of "the possibility of workers' control of factories based on Yugoslav model," now is in Toronto exploring the possibility of setting up an institute. Miss Smith says IPS also is discussing the possibility of setting up one in the South.

Also on the agenda for IPS is "investigations of operations of foreign aid." Handily, Jack Heller, an associate fellow, is director of the Office of Development Programs for the Bureau for Latin America of the Agency for International Development.

A project listed in the IPS 1969-70 budget is a "Middle East Peace Mission," under the direction of Cherif Guellal, IPS fellow, and Algerian ambassador to the U.S. until his country broke off diplomatic relations.

About a year ago, Ivanhoe Donaldson, IPS fellow and member of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, went to Africa for IPS to study self-government there and to contact members of the African National Congress and Pan African Congress. Now his assignment is to set up liaison with both groups, "in order to make accurate information available to American educational institutions on both secondary and college levels."

The IPS assignment for fellow Frank Smith is "to set up a chain of cooperative food markets in an effort to bolster the concept of community control by trying to develop viable and democratic models for community control of food, shelter and clothing businesses."

Mr. Smith, who formerly served as coordinator of the Community Staff of the notorious Child Development Group of Mississippi (*Barron's*, September 26 and October 24, 1966), is a member of SNCC, CORE and the Mississippi Freedom Democrat party.

All last summer IPS had several students interviewing the members and staff of the Federal Communications Commission and studying public records. As a result, the Institute now has elaborate plans for challenging the licenses of broadcasting stations, particularly when it doesn't consider them responsive enough to the views of the New Left.